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561 591 camp there is a definite recognition of age. They are seen no longer as babies but as growing boys; but if the young men stay in the men's camp after they grow a beard it is then not so much a matter of age grading as such as it is a single status that is being recognized, since they are now at the proper age for marriage. It is marriage which takes males out of the men's camp and puts them in the general camp. The young men's camp recognizes sex, marriage status, and age. A large 561 591 885 484 number of men who are past the adolescence ceremonies, that is, the totem-seeing rituals, continue in the young men's camp because they have yet to obtain a wife. Further proof that marriage is a final criterion of status is found in the fact that men who travel without their women stay in the men's camp, since at that moment they are single men and not to be classed as married. The only deviation from this of which the writer knows is that occasionally a man will stay in a brother's camp if visiting outside his own clan's territory.

561 867 869 In the young men's camp the oldest man takes charge and reprimands all wrongdoers with the assistance of the near relatives of the offending youths. He also gives them instructions and advice about the totemic emblems when they have seen them, and informs them on the tribal mores, tradition, and mythology. At times there may be 887 more than one old man in the men's camp. The division of authority and power is then based on the personalities of the old men, the more dominant achieving a greater control over the boys. Such authority is more explicit here than one finds it in almost any other part of the Murngin behavior, with the possible exception of the ceremonial ritual when the leader decides when and where it shall be held.

224 His near female relatives carry the bones of the animal when a boy makes his first kill. It is supposed to be done for all the animals a male kills until he has a baby. The bones of the animal or bird are painted with red ocher. If a boy kills a turkey or other large bird, he does not pick it up but leaves it, returns to the camp and tells some old man. He does not say the name of the turkey but calls out "Ka-ok," the sound the turkey makes, to tell his listener what has happened so that he can pick it up. If a young man finds a porcupine (echidna), he will not kill it but goes to tell an old man of his find. [262] If it is killed, he cannot eat it. After they have been carried by the women, the bones of the larger animals are put in a basket made by the mother for this purpose. The basket is placed near the camp and no one touches it, for it would anger the relatives of the boy and a fight would follow.

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totemic lore, with the associated myths and rituals, are dependent upon how far he has been initiated into the sacred mysteries. The initiations elevate him from a lower and more profane existence to a higher and more sacred plane and mark his transition from one age grade to a higher and older one. Age grading, then, controls the degree of sacred participation a man has within the community.

The older men are the final repositories of all the sacred knowledge which can be obtained only by their willingness to initiate the younger men of the lower ranks into their own group. The older men, therefore, by virtue of the age-grade system, control the younger men fairly effectively. It is partly through the exercise of the sanction of refusing to allow a man to be initiated into certain ceremonies, or threatening to do so, that they can maintain the effectiveness of Murngin gerontocracy. In addition, the old men, felt to be in closer touch with the clan ancestors and totems through their deeper participation in the sacred myths and rituals, effect discipline by invoking the religious sanctions: dire things will happen to men who commit acts the old men frown on and which offend the totemic spirits and ancient ancestors. For example, a man who starts a fight or who commits adultery during a ceremony may be told that his real ancestors and his totemic ancestors will not allow the totemic fish soul to enter his wife, she will be childless—a thing all Murngin men would make every effort to avoid. The offending young man may also be told that the totemic ancestors will not come to direct him to his totemic water hole if he is killed in a fight, or that they will refuse to answer him in a time of need, as when he is in a fight or drowning.

The first effective age grading in the lives of the Murngin occurs when the entire group is sexually bifurcated. The young boy is circumcised and immediately enters the portals of a sacred realm which is forever taboo to his sister, promised wives, and the entire female population of a tribe. The pidgin-English expression found generally among Australian aborigines, "make him a young man," describes what takes place in the minds of the natives: that is, the boy is taken out of the social status of female and put in the social category of male by the use of certain rites of passage. His later initiations take him spiritually further and further from his original profane innocence of the uncircumcised child, where sociologically he is treated as a woman, and they translate him grade by grade into the group's mysteries. The young girl grows into womanhood and continues in the ordinary world with only an outsider's knowledge of the mysteries

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578 on some occasions there is a certain amount of bluff in the conduct of the contestants. The writer observed one nirimaoi yolno fight when, 152 for some unaccountable reason, the contestants' friends did not attempt to hold them. They had counted on being restrained when they rushed at each other while hurling threats of death and covering each other with obscenity and profanity. When they reached each other no clubs were wielded or spears thrown; the men stood breast to breast and obviously felt a bit ridiculous. The usual results of the nirimaoi yolno are a few bruises, much obscenity, many threats, but few killings.

578 It must be borne in mind that members of a camp usually come from several clans, or fighting would never take place. Although the clan is undoubtedly involved in this variety of battle, the fight is almost always an individual affair, with a few of the combatants' relatives joining the fray. The nirimaoi yolno is also used as a kind of debate where angry men may air their fancied or actual grievances and state their position in controversial matters. This latter function is very important and is in most cases the primary basis of the nirimaoi yolno.

Narrup or Djawarlt

628 The narrup generally results in someone's being killed or badly injured. It is one of the most deadly forms of Murngin warfare for it occurs at night and by stealth. It is usually conducted by a few individuals who may be members of one clan, or by a party composed of members of one's own clan, the mother's clan, and the wife's group. Such relatives as gawel, waku, duć, galle, bapa, gatu, maraitcha, and marikmo are frequently members of this type of expedition.

The success of the narrup depends upon surprise. A man is usually attacked while sleeping. Warlumbopo's slaying of his brother's killer at Blue Mud Bay, Maiangula's killing of Kamata, and Natjimbui's killing of the Marderpa man in the feud described in this chapter are examples of the narrup night attack.

628 Although the narrup may be an individual affair, the entire clan is held responsible for the killing. The young men usually attempt to 881 gain the sanction of their elders for a maringo expedition but do not feel they need to for the narrup, which is therefore a favorite fighting method. At times an old man may prefer to remain in the background and have a young man do his killing so that he will not be held as the one primarily responsible, and because of his desire for secrecy the other old men of the clan would not be consulted. The "pusher"

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(pidgin English word describing the instigator) is a social personality most prominent in the narrup warfare. When young men kill, everyone speculates on who did the "pushing," for it is always assumed that an old man is really responsible. Although not always true, it is a rule of pragmatic value for a clan to follow when meting out vengeance. Waltjimi, in the feud that is described in this chapter, is a good example of the "pusher" type of war personality, just as the old Darlwongo men are later the causes of the continuation of the feud when they "push" Natjimbui.

Maringo

The maringo (death adder) obtains its name both because of the snake-like formation of the attackers that surround the camp of the enemy and because of its deadliness. Killings or severe wounds always result.

When a maringo expedition to avenge the slaying of a clan's relative is decided upon, the following magical procedure is gone through before the warriors leave camp. Relics of the dead man are always carried by some of the relatives. The oldest man who holds one of these relics goes out into the bush some little distance from the camp and makes a fire and hut for himself. He draws the likeness of a man on the earth or molds it on the ground with his hands, giving it the name of the killer.

He then instructs a young man to go into the main camp and tell the old men, who organize themselves and go out in a body. They stop some little distance from where the old man and the image are camped. The leader sends two men ahead as spies. They pretend to look for the camp of the image, which represents their enemy's camp, and to discover if the "killer" is there.

Everyone in the group is as stealthily quiet as if he were on an actual expedition. The two young men sneak around the camp of the image. They return and announce that there is no one there and they could not find the "killer."

They sit down and say nothing. The others also remain quiet, unless they express regret that "he" has escaped and it is of no use to continue the expedition.

The two young men eat; when they have finished they pick up some pieces of white clay or other paint material and throw them into the ring of men. Everyone knows then that the image, the killer in this magical ritual, is there. The two leaders of the expedition divide

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more than spear-throwing distance apart, and each is so situated that it has a mangrove jungle back of it for protection in case the makarata becomes a real fight and it is necessary to take cover. The clan which considers itself injured performs the dance connected with its chief totem. It is of the garma or non-sacred variety. The Warumeri clan, for instance, would dance the garawark (mythological fish) totemic dance; the Djirin clan would perform its shark dance. The challenging group dances over to its antagonists, stops, and without further ceremony walks back to its own side. After the men have reformed their ranks, their opponents dance toward them, using the latter's totemic dance for this military ritual. They return to their own side and reform their line to make ready for the actual duel.

The men who are supposed to have "pushed" the killers then start running in a zigzag in the middle of the field, facing their opponents. They are accompanied by two close relatives who are also near kin of the other side. The function of the latter runners is to deter the aggrieved clan from throwing spears with too deadly an intent for fear of hitting their kin, and to help knock down spears which might hit the "pushers." The "pushers" are made a target for spears whose stone heads have been removed. Every member of the clan or clans which feels itself injured throws at least once at the runners. When an individual's turn to throw arrives he advances from the group and moves toward the runners. If he feels very strongly he continues throwing spears until he has chased the runners into the jungle. This action is repeated by the more indignant members of the offended clan three or four times. The injured clan curses the members of the other group; the offending group cannot reply, for this is supposed to add additional insult; they must run and say nothing. Finally, when their emotions have subsided to a considerable extent, one of the older men of the offended group says that they have had enough and the spear throwing stops.

After the "pushers," the actual killers run. The spear head is not removed from the shaft; the throwers continue hurling their spears, at first as a group and finally as individuals, until they have exhausted their emotions. While all this is taking place, the old men of both sides walk back and forth from one group to the other, telling the throwers to be careful and not kill or hurt anyone. The offending clan's old men ask the younger men to be quiet and not to become angry, and when they hear insults thrown at them not to reply or throw spears since

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they are in the wrong. When the old men of the injured clan feel that they have sated their anger as a group they call out to the young men to stop, and each man then throws singly at the killers. He may throw as long as he pleases.

When this part of the ceremony has been completed, the whole offending group dances up to the other, and one of the latter jabs a spear through the thighs of the killers. If this happens it means that no further retaliatory action will be taken. The killers can feel free to go into the country of their enemies without fear of injury. If only a slight wound is made the offenders know they are not forgiven and the truce is only temporary. Sometimes no wound is made at all. This acts as a direct statement of the offended clan's intention to wreak vengeance on the other side.

After the wound has been made the two sides dance together as one group to prove their feeling of solidarity and to express ritually that they are not openly warring groups, but one people. They also perform the usual water dance.

The above is the idealized form of the makarata. If all goes well, this procedure is followed through until the end, and the makarata's purpose is fulfilled. The following things can happen to turn the makarata into a real fight: (1) the old men may not have enough power to keep their young men in control; (2) the offending side may start swearing or throwing spears, which immediately turns the whole performance into a fight; (3) one of the runners may be badly wounded, which is likely to stimulate his clan members to attack the other side; (4) treachery may be resorted to; (5) the accidental wounding of an outsider may sometimes result; and (6) a member of either side may deliberately throw a spear into the other group because he is anxious to start a general fight.

Women's Fights

Brawls in which only women are engaged are fairly frequent. The fights usually take place between two women, almost always because a young woman has seduced another's husband. Occasionally more than two women are involved, sisters taking sides with their kin; or several wives of one man may attack his sweetheart, in which case the latter usually calls upon her own relatives for help. The women's ironwood digging sticks are the usual weapons, although if a man's club is within reach the women often use it. They strike each other on the head. The fights are of such intensity that bloodshed always results.

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since he believed that it was Berundais who had given Maiangula the relic. He struck Berundais on the head with a club. Maritja, although a very near relative of Berundais, commanded his people not to fight Raiola because he had a right to attack them, since one of his relatives had been slain. Dimala was then attacked by Raiola because he was a brother-in-law of Maiangula's. They fought with knives, but because of the intervention of their mutual friends and relatives, neither of them was hurt. Maiangula and the killers meanwhile had hidden in the bush.

After things had quieted and the general camp brawl which had resulted from the slaying had ceased, the inevitable series of discussions commenced among the various old men who had gathered from the clans to determine just what was back of the killing and to attempt to find out if anyone had "pushed" the younger men. The opinions were very divergent upon the actual motivation, but it was felt by all that Maiangula had killed a man who was too far removed from his real enemies, Parpar and Drona. There was also a secondary sentiment that Maiangula's father had been too long dead for Maiangula to retaliate. It was also believed by most of the men that some older man, probably Waltjimi, had directed him to kill the boy, for Waltjimi was a bitter enemy of the Bringel clan. The wounding of the younger man was not so severely criticized, for he was near enough in relationship to Parpar. The chief fault found with his wounding was that he was too young, so that even this attempt to avenge his father's death was held against Maiangula.

After a week or more, when Raiola with his relatives had gone back into the interior to their clan's territory and the general excitement had died down considerably, it was decided to send a messenger from the camp of the Djirin and Naladaer peoples to the Gwiyula to discover what their feelings were about the matter and to attempt to arrange a makarata to settle matters. Birindjaoi was chosen to go because it was thought he would not be hurt by the other side, since he had near relatives among them.[8] Baerwit, the recognized leader of the Ritarngo clans, was the unofficial head of the group of clansmen who had gathered by a small lake in the interior country. Birindjaoi met Raiola, who was his friend. All of the men's bodies were painted with white clay to show that they were on the warpath. He and Raiola went over to the part of the camp where the Ritarngo were situated. They took tobacco and food to Baerwit. He invited them to sit down. Birindjaoi, who distrusted Baerwit, said that he preferred to stand. Three of the young Ritarngo were standing with their spears ready to throw them. They were all blood sons of Baerwit.

The older leader picked up a paper-bark water basin and invited the messenger to have a drink of fresh water. The latter realized it was

[8] He was identified also with the Crocodile Island mission.

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any uncleanliness which might cause sickness and death. The group baptism in the Narra ceremonies is explicitly considered by the Murngin to be a method of preventing illness and a way of washing away the ritual uncleanliness which causes it. Participation in the Gunabibi has the exact opposite effect to non-participation, since it too prevents sickness and death of the individuals who are a part of it. The whole mourning ceremony is consciously an effort to prevent sickness from occurring to any of the members of the group by forcing the contagious soul away from the land of the living and into the land of the dead.

The Nature of Murngin Dal (Mana or Power)

Murngin mana which lies in the rituals is both helpful and harmful. Those things which are powerful and strong because of an extramundane quality are said to be *dal*, which means they have mana and possess spiritual power.

Objects Which Are Dal Because of Primary Relationship with the Totem.—A catalogue of the elements in Murngin society which are dal indicates that all the objects within their material culture can be dal provided they have been given a power name by someone who has the right to give it. Old men are the only ones who know and can use these sacred names. Most of the objects in the material culture which possess the dal quality have it only because of the power name. Dal names fit into the general classification of "inside," while ordinary words in daily use are "outside." The men's sacred camp, the place where all the sacred totemic rituals are held, is described as "inside," the common camp as "outside." The water in the clan well is considered common, ordinary, and outside, whereas the subterranean water down below, where the totems and the ancient ancestors live, is inside. All the very sacred rituals are inside, while the ordinary garma type is outside. The totem, totemic emblems, totemic ancestors and ceremonial objects are all dal. All the objects, then, which have the quality of dal may or may not be sacred in their own right, but in all cases they obtain their power because of a special connection with the inside or sacred.

Objects Which Are Dal Because Connected with the Dead.—Another category of objects is also classed as dal, but the items in this group are not necessarily associated with a totem in a primary relationship. These objects include the bones of a man killed directly by black magic or by an enemy clansman, pieces of a spear found in a wound of a dead clansman, bark or wood saturated in his death's

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moiety." This division refers to the dance ground and not to Yurlunggur, who was Dua. B is the snake's anus; D is the head where the initiates stand, both in the circumcision part of the ceremony and also in that portion devoted to showing and explaining the totemic emblem to the older initiates.

The circle E is the special house for Yurlunggur erected on the first day of the ceremony and is a windbreak about four feet high and fifteen feet across. The dancers who paint themselves as iguanas in the totem scene ceremony hide there while the earlier part of the Djungguan is taking place.

When the Yurlunggur dance ground is made, a cycle of songs is sung over the man who gives his blood to the ceremony (see page 274) by the old men. This makes the ground maraiin because it now possesses the essence of Yurlunggur.

Native Interpretation.—The warngaitja is symbolical of the two boys who are being circumcised. "The sticks are all the same as the boys being cut. The bushes on top are all the same as the hair of those boys." I was told each time I heard the Wawilak myth that when "the little sister sang inside the house, the older sister danced around the house just the same as women do now around the warngaitja pole in the Djungguan." When new groups arrive at the Djungguan ceremony, the ritual is being started, and they dance around the warngaitja singing "A-wa!—a-wa!" it is the sound of flood water flowing or of rain falling: "They do that because those two old women did that when they tried to stop the rain." In the Djungguan ceremony older women ordinarily do the dancing and wailing. "No young women, only old women do this. Old women are better for the boys—it helps them more. Those old women when they dance are all the same as those Wongar women."

B. The Dancing Each Evening Around the Warngaitja. The Initiates Are Carried into the Men's Ground

1. The women wail over the neophytes while dancing around the warngaitja pole (or poles); the men rush in and remove the boys to their own grounds.
2. The circle of men around the fire and the sequence of songs and dances.

1. Until the last day of the ceremony dances in the Djungguan are not held during the day except occasionally in the early morning. But

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852 535 circumcised and a few of the older men, who stand outside at the head of the dance ground. The old men tell the initiates the meaning of the dances. The little boys stand, each with the men's basket under his arm, with the string handle over the left shoulder, in the manner of grown men.

The entire Djungguan song cycle is repeated during all the time the boys are away to invite others to their circumcision and from two to four weeks after their return. The dances vary slightly, and occasionally a few new elements are introduced into the main camp ceremony.

852 881 Sometimes an old woman, usually the initiate's mother's mother (mari), goes through the camp snatching the men's spears from them and threatening the younger women with the weapons. She is taking a threefold rôle in this ritual act: (1) expressing the antagonism of the women's division of the sex and age structure toward the men's division; (2) disciplining the younger women and thereby increasing the solidarity of the women's division; and (3) acting the part of a very old woman, which gives her special privileges, since old women are "more like a man" (see page 102 on the relationship of older mothers-in-law to their sons-in-law).

852 535 On certain nights (there is no regular order), several fires are built outside the python dance ground in a line running from the python's anus, and several inside the triangle. After having left the warngaitja circle and starting their ceremony on the python ground, the men, instead of dancing wallaby and kangaroo, dance hawk and rock kangaroo. The fires are built, say the natives, to chase the rock kangaroos out of their hiding places, and when the hawks see the fires they appear as they do when the natives light bush fires to hunt kangaroos.

The hawks cry, "Kawk! Kawk! Kawk!" They carry under each armpit green bushes or paper bark which they shake in imitation of hawks flying, and they carry their spear-throwers to represent the birds' tails while they dance between the fires. They are plastered with [302] white clay. A white band of clay covers the face from the eyebrows to the bridge of the nose and runs from ear to ear. Another band of clay extends laterally from jaw to jaw beneath the mouth and across the chin. The upper arms, trunk, and upper legs are daubed with parallel lines of birds' down made fast with human blood.

The rock kangaroos dance first, followed by the hawks. Both stamp

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778 The aid of these "Muraian," in which are believed to reside the spirits of their tribal ancestors, may be invoked, and I have heard an old man, addressing a group of initiates, declare that he had lived to an old age because he had been true to his "Muraian," which, he said, had protected him from his enemies and generally cared for him. One man told me that when away out at sea in his canoe, and being suddenly overtaken by a violent storm, he had called upon his "Muraian," and by their aid had been brought safely to land.

614 621 688 796 [778] During the preparations for, or the holding of, these ceremonies[1] it is expected that all matters likely to disturb the peace will be carefully avoided. If someone commits an offence during that period it is regarded as an insult to the particular "Muraian" concerned, and the men of the horde become most violently angry. In such a case the offender must make liberal payments to the chief men of the horde, who, in extreme cases, however, are not satisfied until the offender has been seriously injured, or even killed.

561 778 [587] Though at an early age youths are given some information concerning their own "Muraian," no man undertakes the manufacture of these sacred objects before middle life, and then only under the direction of the old men. From time to time, as opportunity presents itself, a man is shown the "Muraian" of hordes other than his own. Such knowledge is in no way compulsory or essential to his taking his full place in the tribal life, but rather marks an additional stage in his education, and so increases his influence.

614 616 619 778 It is through these "Muraian" that the only cohesion between the various scattered hordes is obtained. Hordes or clans of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island and Blue Mud Bay, hold in reverence the same mythological ancestors, possess the same "Muraian," and so regard themselves as the same people.

060 It will be seen, from the above, how wide is the influence of these totemic beliefs, and how important a place they occupy in the life of the people. Further brief reference will be made to them under the heading of Death and Burial Beliefs and Customs.

1 [i.e. "NARA" CEREMONIES — ANALYST]

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Significance of the Djanggawul

coming of the heavy rains of the wet season, which is viewed as a period of fertilization.[1]

b. The first ceremonies which take place after the arrival of the visitors are related mainly to totemic species, and do not usually involve use of the *rangga* emblems, which are nearly always retained till later ceremonies. Older men organize all these rituals and instruct neophytes. When actors are not carrying out the traditional actions with sufficient skill, they often take over themselves to demonstrate just how it should be done. Both *dua* and *jiritja* neophytes are present. There is also a ceremonial shaving of facial hair; older men leave short tufts or beards that symbolically represent the fringe of the *ngainmara* mat (= pubic hair of the Sisters), and attach red parakeet feathers, like the *rangga* pendant strings. (That is, as the *rangga* have feathered pendants attached to them, so also do men, because they approximate *rangga*—see above.)

c. In the main camp women and young children, and uninitiated youths, gather in a cleared place where they are covered with *ngainmara* mats. This symbolically represents the unborn children of the Djanggawul Sisters, lying in the uteri (or children in the *ngainmara*, or *rangga* hidden in the *ngainmara* or bags; *vide* myth and songs). The men dance from the sacred ground and surround them, carrying spears, womeras and sticks. Invocations are called, most of which refer to places where the Djanggawul Sisters gave birth to the people; they include also sacred 'inside' terms for the *ngainmara*, and for the sacred wells, billabongs or waterholes, for the *rangga* objects, and for the spears and sticks which the men carry. Ancestral names are called too, as well as the 'inside' names of various men taking part in the ritual. Surrounding the people covered by the *ngainmara* mats, the men poke them with their spears and sticks, and they wriggle in response.

The men then dance, calling out sacred *bugali* terms for childbirth, sexual intercourse and so on. Then the women, children and youths emerge from their *ngainmara*, and sit watching the men. Final calling of *bugali* completes the ceremony.

Interpreting this ritual, Aborigines say that the women crouching under the mats are the children of the Sisters; they are 'poked' by the men and wriggle 'like children in a womb'. The poking with spears and sticks signifies the Djanggawul Brother's penis, which causes the pregnancy of his Sisters and the subsequent 'wriggling' of the children. Alternatively, the spears and sticks symbolize the *rangga*, and the 'poking' their replacement in the *ngainmara*. The casting aside of the *ngainmara* represents the birth of the children of Djanggawul, or conversely, the removal of *rangga* (symbolically,

[1] *Vide* W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

or south-east season, and "shades" of boughs in the very hot dry weather, to the crescentic and semi-circular houses thatched with teatree bark, and the more elaborate rectangular huts of stringybark which are used in the wet season, and are of a more or less permanent nature. The large rectangular houses were, however, probably developed or modified as a result of Malay or Macassar influence. 221 342 361 [177]

When the flood waters subside after the storms and rains of the north-west season, the large wet season camps break up into small groups consisting of a few families, which disperse to lead a nomadic life within the confines of their own clan territories. Each phase, each season, has its own related food supply, and this is the chief factor which determines the daily activities of the people and also the area in which they are to be found at any time of the year. As the season advances and the grass dries, they practise systematic burning of the country in conjunction with their hunting activities. This is not a random business; it is well organised, and is carried out by the men as a communal enterprise, although in a restricted and controlled manner, with "drives" for kangaroos, wallabies or other game. 221 361 221 224

The actual burning of the grass is directed by the old men of the clan, or by others who have an hereditary right, especially by men of other clans who stand, under the kinship system, in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman speaking; sister's son, man speaking) that is, men to whom the clan is *yindipulo* (see pp. 11, 12). Such men are necessarily members of the opposite moiety, and to those unfamiliar with the people, they may appear to usurp the authority, to dominate the affairs, of clans to which they do not belong. But it is part of the traditional behaviour in this area, that certain people of *dua* moiety carry out some of the ritual tasks for members of certain clans of *yiritja* moiety to which 224 887 614 602 [616] 602 614 616

137 zones, *rakai*, the corms of the Tall Spike Rush (*Heleocharis*
262 *sphacelata*), to which reference has already been made, form the staple food. At the same time, communal fishing
226 drives—almost the only large scale hunting activity in which
476 men and women work together—are organised. Most other communal enterprises, except those of a ceremonial nature, are carried out by groups of men or of women working
[687] independently. In most cases the actual procedure follows
[554] so closely a traditional pattern that little actual leadership
[602] is required and this is generally accepted as the responsibility of the most senior and experienced of the older men who stand in the correct kinship status to the group in whose territory the hunting "drive" is carried out. Because these methods are traditional and are therefore regarded as a recapitulation of a pattern laid down by the ancestral culture heroes, the leadership is nominal and generally unobtrusive.

592 Each family—the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives and their young children—lives as a separate unit within the camp. It generally makes its own hut, shelter or breakwind according to the season, but the essential thing is that its life is centred around its own fireside, and that each family group cooks its own food, and lives as an independent and self-contained group within the horde. As a rule only one regular meal is eaten in camp. This is at night after the people have returned from the day's hunting.

591 There is no single women's camp, and up to the time of
593 marriage a girl remains with her parents and shares with
883 her mother the work of gathering vegetable food, and of food preparation, the making of bark houses and the getting of wood and water. But in the case of a boy, after commencement of his first initiation rites, at about the age of puberty, he leaves the fireside of his parents and goes to LIVE IN THE SINGLE MEN'S CAMP.

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778] her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is *yarkomirri* (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
●[687 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

11: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 O117 Murngin O117

757 place it in the fire. It is said that within a few days at most of doing this the cough will disappear.
278 The ever-present *kal-kal*, green ant, is employed as an emetic. These insects are crushed between the palms of the hands, mixed with water, and swallowed. It is said that violent vomiting is thereby produced.

For diarrhœa a small brown fungus which grows on the bark of certain trees and which is called *bulogun* is taken roasted on the coals then scraped into water, which is drunk cold. The young shoots of a tree called *narini*, chewed and eaten, are also said to give relief from this complaint.

Such are some of the remedies and modes of treatment employed 757 by these aborigines in endeavouring to overcome their various complaints, injuries, and diseases. In the preparation and adminis- [887] tration of the various remedies it is the old women who are chiefly engaged. The *marrngit*, magician, deals only with those cases [756] where the patient's condition is believed to be directly due to the operation of evil magic.

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